17 September 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT:

Conversation with General Graham on 17 September 1975

As I indicated, in my earlier memorandum, an arrangement to see General Graham was underway and I actually saw him on 17 September with John Sen present. We covered the following points:

- 1. Estimates. I told him that we had basically two kinds of estimates to make on China.
  - a. First, those estimates which the Intelligence Community believed had to be done whether the policy makers wanted them or not. In this category I placed our current estimates on the Taiwan Straits and the South China Sea and a proposed piece on a possible Soviet lean in the Chinese leadership. The compulsion to maintain the image of a beautiful China relationship made this type of estimate unpopular to those people who had manufactured this relationship. Nevertheless, as professional intelligence officers we were obliged to deal with these questions. General Graham agreed and offered his full support.
  - b. On the other hand, we required policy direction in the preparation of other estimates on China and we should not initiate action on estimates of marginal interest. I was very much against this kind of estimate. I said on the China problem it was difficult to relate to policy makers but we would work at bringing them out of their dark cave.

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4. General Graham enthusiastically supported my idea of a monthly report on Sino-Soviet relations which would include factual data covering the following general topics: trade, troop dispositions, exchanges, polemics (quantified), border and navigation and negotiations, clashes, etc. We agreed that broad speculative comment on the status or relationship between these two countries was not needed. Although realizing the limitations of this kind of study, we nevertheless felt it should be done regularly.

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2